

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 HA-05 IO-13 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 EB-08 COME-00
LAB-04 SIL-01 BIB-01 /122 W
-----077166 120320Z /70

P R 120215Z MAY 78
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0693
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 1344

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR PINT CH KN
SUBJ: CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO NORTH KOREA

1. SUMMARY. PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG, MAKING HIS FIRST TRIP
ABROAD, PAID AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO NORTH KOREA FROM MAY 5-9.
AS POLITICAL THEATER THE TRIP WAS A RESOUNDING SUCCESS.
ADDRESSING BANQUET GATHERINGS AND A MASS RALLY, HUA AND
KIM IL SUNG TOSSED VERBAL BOUQUETS TO EACH OTHER; AT A SERIES
OF FORMAL MEETINGS SPREAD OUT OVER FOUR DAYS AND INVARIABLY
CHARACTERIZED AS "EXTREMELY WARM AND CORDIAL" HUA DECLARED THAT
HE AND KIM HAD "REACHED IDENTICAL VIEWS"; AND EACH LEADER
BACKED THE WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF THE
OTHER. HUA CONDEMNED US "AGRESSION," CALLED FOR DISSOLUTION
OF THE UN COMMAND AND WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTH KOREA OF US TROOPS,
ARMS AND EQUIPMENT, AND SUPPORTED THE NORTH KOREAN POSITION
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ON REUNIFICATION. KIM REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO THE NECESSITY
FOR THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO RESIST "DOMINATIONIST FORCES" -- AN
OBVIOUS CODE PHRASE FOR THE SOVIET UNION THOUGH LESS OFFENSIVE
TO MOSCOW THAN "HEGEMONISM." IF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WERE
SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED IN THE COURSE OF THE VISIT, THERE HAS BEEN
NO EVIDENCE OF THIS IN MEDIA COVERAGE. THE VISIT CONCLUDED
AMIDST EXPRESSIONS OF FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY BUT WITHOUT A JOINT

COMMUNIQUE OR ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW AGREEMENTS.

2. HUA HAS EVERY REASON TO BE SATISFIED WITH HIS FIRST VENTURE ABROAD. HIS PICTURE HAS BEEN PROMINENTLY FEATURED IN GENEROUS PRC NEWSPAPER COVERAGE, RAISING HIS STATURE DOMESTICALLY AS A MAN WHO UNDERSTANDS FOREIGN AFFAIRS (AN AREA HITHERTO DOMINATED BY TENG HSIAO-PING AND HIS TECHNOCRATS) AND WHO IS VISIBLY "HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MAO" BY CONDUCTING TALKS WITH A LEGITIMATE FOREIGN COMMUNIST LEADER.

3. RETURNING BY RAIL THROUGH LIAONING PROVINCE, HUA WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SHENYANG COMMANDER LI TEH-SHENG AND LIAONING FIRST SECRETARY TSENG SHAO-SHAN -- A CLEAR SIGNAL TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE THAT THE TWO CONTINUE TO ENJOY HUA'S PATRONAGE DESPITE THEIR SUSPECTED LINKS TO THE GANG OF FOUR. END SUMMARY.

4. PARTY CHAIRMAN AND PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG, MAKING HIS FIRST TRIP ABROAD, PAID AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO NORTH KOREA FROM MAY 5-9. HUA WAS ACCOMPANIED BY POLITBURO MEMBER/VICE PREMIER/CCP INTERNATIONAL LIAISON DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR KENG PIAO, WHO SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED OVERALL COORDINATING RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS SINCE THE 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY; POLITBURO ALTERNATE/VICE PREMIER/MINISTER OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES CHEN MU-HUA; FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA; INTERNATIONAL LIAISON DEPARTMENT
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DEPUTY DIRECTOR SHEN CHIEN; AND A FEW OTHERS. COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATION WAS SEEMINGLY DETERMINED WITH AN EYE TO PROTOCOL REQUIREMENTS AND POSSIBLE DISCUSSION OF PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. SYMBOLISM RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE POINT OF THE EXERCISE, AND AS POLITICAL THEATER THE TRIP WAS A RESOUNDING SUCCESS. ALTHOUGH HUA HAD NEVER BEFORE TRAVELLED ABROAD, HE UNDOUBTEDLY FOUND THE ROUTINE VERY FAMILIAR: RECEPTION AT THE RAILWAY STATION BY HIS HOST CHAIRMAN KIM IL SUNG AND THRONGS OF CHEERING MASSES; A WELCOMING BANQUET; FORMAL TALKS EACH DAY, INVARIABLY DESCRIBED AFTERWARDS AS HAVING BEEN CONDUCTED IN AN "EXTREMELY WARM AND CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE"; EVENING CULTURAL PERFORMANCES; VISITS TO MODEL UNITS, AN INDUSTRIAL CITY, AND THE LEADER'S HUMBLE BIRTHPLACE; AN ADDRESS TO A MASS RALLY; A RETURN BANQUET; AND A WARM AND FRATERNAL DEPARTURE. IN SHORT THE SCENARIO WAS METICULOUSLY PROGRAMMED, WITHOUT SURPRISES, AND SIMILAR IN EVERY RESPECT (SAVE PERHAPS THE MASS RALLY, OUT OF VOGUE IN PEKING SINCE THE EARLY 1970'S) TO A STATE VISIT TO THE PRC.

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LAB-04 SIL-01 BIB-01 /122 W
-----077350 120326Z /70

P R 120215Z MAY 78
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0694
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
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6. AT THE WELCOMING BANQUET ON MAY 5, THE MASS RALLY ON MAY 7, AND THE RETURN BANQUET ON MAY 9 CHAIRMAN HUA AND CHAIRMAN KIM TOSSED VERBAL BOUQUETS TO EACH OTHER ON THEIR ENLIGHTENED AND CORRECT LEADERSHIP OF THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES AND NATIONS. ON THE BASIS OF PUBLISHED REPORTS, THERE IS NO REASON TO DOUBT HUA'S CHARACTERIZATION OF HIS VISIT AT THE MAY 9 BANQUET: "WE ARE HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH OUR VISIT AND THE RESULTS OF OUR TALKS...WE HAVE REACHED IDENTICAL VIEWS."

7. IN EACH SPEECH HUA CONDEMNED US "AGGRESSION," CALLED FOR DISSOLUTION OF THE UN COMMAND, DEMANDED WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTH KOREA OF US TROOPS, ARMS AND EQUIPMENT, AND SUPPORTED PYONGYANG'S "POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS AND REASONABLE PROPOSALS FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA." HUA TOOK AN INDIRECT SWIPE AT BOTH THE US AND THE USSR IN DECLARING THAT "ALL SCHEMES
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TO CREATE 'TWO KOREAS' AND PERPETUATE THE DIVISION OF KOREA ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE..."

8. HUA'S UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT FOR NORTH KOREAN POSITIONS AND HIS HARSH RHETORIC CONCERNING US "AGGRESSION" CONTAIN NOTHING NEW. WHILE PRC LEADERS SPEAKING IN CHINA HAVE RECENTLY MUTED SUCH SENTIMENTS, PRC EDITORIALS AND COMMENTARIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY BACKED THE NORTH KOREAN POSITIONS IN SIMILAR LANGUAGE. HUA, AS A GUEST IN NORTH KOREA, COULD DO NO LESS.

9. IN RETURN KIM IL SUNG SEEMINGLY TILTED IN FAVOR OF THE CHINESE WORLDVIEW, EMPLOYING THE LOADED PHRASE "DOMINATIONIST FORCES" ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. SPEAKING AT THE MAY 7 MASS RALLY IN PYONGYANG, KIM DECLARED THAT "IMPERIALISM AND OTHER DOMINATIONIST FORCES ARE ENGAGED IN A FURIOUS SCRAMBLE TO DRAW THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES INTO THE SPHERE OF THEIR DOMINATION...THE PRESENT SITUATION URGENTLY DEMANDS THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE NEW-EMERGING FORCES, THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, FORM A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST, OLD AND NEW COLONIALIST AND DOMINATIONIST FORCES AND INTENSIFY THEIR COMMON STRUGGLE..." AN OBVIOUS CODE PHRASE FOR THE SOVIET UNION, "DOMINATIONIST FORCES" (EARLIER USED DURING THE TITO VISIT) IS APPRECIATED BY THE CHINESE WHILE STILL BEING MORE ACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW THAN "HEGEMONISM," THE PREFERRED CHINESE FORMULA TO DESCRIBE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY.

10. IF ANY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WERE SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED IN THE COURSE OF THE VISIT, THERE HAVE BEEN NO CLUES IN MEDIA COVERAGE. THE VISIT CONCLUDED ON THE MORNING OF MAY 10 AMIDST PROFESSIONS OF FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY BUT WITHOUT A JOINT COMMUNIQUE OR ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW AGREEMENTS.

11. HUA KUO-FENG HAS EVERY REASON TO BE SATISFIED WITH
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THE RESULTS OF HIS FIRST VENTURE ABROAD. FOR AN ENTIRE WEEK (HUA AND HIS ENTOURAGE SPENT MAY 4 TRAVELLING ON A SPECIAL TRAIN TO PYONGYANG AND MAY 10 RETURNING) PHOTOGRAPHS OF A BEAMING HUA HAVE BEEN PROMINENTLY FEATURED IN GENEROUS PRC NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE VISIT. HUA HAS INEVITABLY RAISED HIS STATURE DOMESTICALLY AS AN ACTOR CONFIDENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE. A LEADER WHO UNDERSTANDS FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND A WORTHY SUCCESSOR VISIBLY "HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MAO" BY CONDUCTING CORDIAL AND HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL TALKS WITH A FOREIGN COMMUNIST LEADER PERCEIVED IN THE PRC AS SUCCESSFUL AND LEGITIMATE IN HIS OWN RIGHT. IN ALL OF THIS THERE MAY BE MORE THAN A LITTLE GAMESMANSHIP: AN ATTEMPT TO SCORE POINTS AT THE EXPENSE OF TENG HSIAO-PING, WHO HAS HITHERTO DOMINATED FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY VISITS TO BURMA AND NEPAL AND BY CONDUCTING SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IN PEKING

WITH THE MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN VISITORS. HUA MAY BE ENDEAVORING TO SHARPEN HIS IMAGE AS A COMMUNIST LEADER IN CONTRAST TO TENG'S IMAGE AS THE FOREMOST ADVOCATE OF ENHANCED TIES WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

12. RETURNING BY RAIL THROUGH LIAONING PROVINCE, HUA WAS MET AT THE BORDER AND ACCOMPANIED TO SHENYANG BY POLITBURO MEMBER/SHENYANG COMMANDER LI TEH-SHENG AND LIAONING FIRST SECRETARY TSENG SHAO-SHAN. THE SYMBOLISM OF HUA'S "BEAMING" ACCEPTANCE OF "WARM CONGRATULATIONS" FROM LI AND TSENG WILL BE PERCEIVED IMMEDIATELY BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE AS A CALCULATED SIGNAL THAT THE TWO CONTINUE TO ENJOY HUA'S PATRONAGE DESPITE THEIR PAST OPPOSITION TO TENG HSIAO-PING AND SUSPECTED LINKS TO THE GANG OF FOUR.

13. THUS FAR THE PEKING RUMOR MILL HAS BEEN UNACCOUNTABLY SILENT ON THE ENTIRE VISIT. WE WILL REPORT ANY ADDITIONAL DETAILS WHEN -- AND IF -- THEY BECOME AVAILABLE.
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Message Attributes

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